S E C O N D

L E T T E R

To the Right Honourable

E D M U N D B U R K E, Eſq;

On the Subject of the Evidence referred to in the Second Report of the SELECT COMMITTEE of the Houſe of Commons, appointed to enquire into the State of Juſtice in the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orreſſa.

With a compleat refutation of every Paragraph of the Letter of Mr. Philip Francis, to the Court of Directors of the Eaſt India Company, copied from No. 7, of the Appendix to the ſaid Report,

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UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES

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A SECOND LETTER

To EDMUND BURKE, *Esq.*

SIR,

SINCE the publication of my letter to you, on the ſubject of the execution of Rajah Nundcomar, I have been aſked in what part of the former report of the committee, it appeared in evidence that it was by many perſons at Bengal, believed that the Rajah loſt his life on political principles, for that it was not to be found in page 59 of the former report as referred to in my quotation from the latter.

This information ſet me to examine the firſt report, and I find that the only parts in it where this circumſtance is mentioned is in page 57 and page 58, as printed by J. Evans, No. 32, Paternoſter-Row.

This re-examination of the fact, and of the authority, has opened a new ſcene of inveſtigation, the developing of which

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which, will ſhew very plainly on what ſlight grounds, and for what particular purpoſe the inſinuations have been taken up, and brought forward in the laſt report.

I have been told and otherways informed, that my eagerneſs to vindicate the Governor General of Bengal, together with the warmth of my temper, had hurried me into ſome perſonalities which had obſcured my agreement, and weakened it very much.

This remark having its foundation in truth has hurt me a good deal, not on account of the men themſelves, but that a good cauſe ſhould be hurt by an injudicious advocate. But as I have yet abundant materials unapplied, I once more take the liberty to addreſs you on the ſubject; by keeping to facts and argument and leaving men to their own feelings, I hope to reclaim all the moderate to my ſide of the queſtion.

The preſent report refers to the laſt for the evidence, which the committee deſires may be applied to, in juſtification of their new doctrine of policy.—To that let us go, and fairly ſtate the grounds they have gone upon, to the application of which I have ſo ſtrongly objected.

The cauſes of the tryal, condemnation, and execution of the Rajah Nundcomar, being part of the duty of the committee, it appears that ſeven different gentlemen were called before them to be examined on that head: the two firſt were members of the committee, Meſſrs. Rouſe and Farrer. Mr. Mills and Mr. Price, two very old Free Merchants, who had reſided many years in Bengal. Mr. Baber, a company's ſervant, and one of the provincial Revenue Chiefs, Major James Rennell, the company's ſurveyor

ſurveyor general, and Capt. Cowe, a military officer in the company's army.

The firſt five give their evidence clear and diſtinct, all agreeing in the ſame points, that the Rajah's ſuffering ſo ignominious a death ſurpriſed the people much, as it was contrary to their ideas of juſtice, that a man of his rank and high caſt of religion ſhould ſuffer capitally for what they deemed a venal offence. Not one ſingle word is ſaid about political influence, by any one of the firſt ſix gentlemen, nor does it appear that Capt. Cowe had ſuch an idea in his head, untill it had been introduced there by the Novel, and ſingular queſtion put to him by ſome one member of the committee.

The fair way is to give his evidence at length, and to reaſon on the ſingularity of it afterwards.

I have taken it from J. Evans's publication, page 57 and 58, it is as follows:

" Capt. Cowe being again examined by your committee, " was aſked whether he was at Calcutta at the time of " the proceedings againſt Nundcomar; and at the time " of his execution, ſaid he was, during the whole of the " time, being aſked. if any criminal proſecution had been " commenced againſt him before that indictment for " forgery? he ſaid none that he had heard of. Being " aſked, what was the opinion of the natives concern- " ing that proceeding, whether they thought it political, " or done in the ordinary courſe of juſtice. Said, he be- " lieved there was a great diverſity of opinions; that " many thought it was done from political motives.—— " Others in the ordinary courſe of juſtice, according to the

" the laws of England, being asked, what was the cha-
" racter of the Rajah Nundcomar among the natives?
" Said, that he was considered at a man of understand-
" ing, but much adicted to letigation, and in general
" thought a designing artful man; that he never heard
" any thing farther against his moral character. Being
" asked, whether his prosecution did not give general
" satisfaction to the natives, as being the means of bring-
" ing to justice a criminal, who had been a long time
" protected from it by his power and artifices? Said,
" he never heard that it had given satisfaction, except
" to few, who might have viewed it in a political light.
" Being asked, whether he had not heard that the offence
" for which Nundcomar was tried, was committed several
" years before the trial? He said, he always understood
" it had been committed for many years before the trial.
" Being asked, if he had an opportunity to make any
" observations concerning the execution of Nundcomar?
" Said he had, that he saw the whole, except the imme-
" diate act of execution. From the parapet of the new
" fort, not quite half a mile from the place of execution,
" there were eight or ten thousand people assembled; who
" at the moment the Rajah was turned off, dispersed sud-
" denly crying, Ah-Baup-aree, leaving nobody about the
" gallows but the sheriff and his attendance, and a few
" European spectators. He explains the term of Ah-Baup-
" aree, to be an exclamation of the black people, upon
" the appearance of any thing very alarming, and when
" they are in great pain: that they did not think he would
" be put to death till he was actually executed. That
" many of them even ran into the river, from the terror
" at seeing a Bramin executed in that ignominious manner.
" That the circumstance of his execution was received
" with great horror by all the natives, as well as most

"of the Europeans; who, in general, thought it a hard "cafe. Being afked, if the natives in general were not "fatisfied with the introduction of the rigor of the "Englifh penal ftatute law, as tending to fecure credit "and fidelity in dealings? Said, as far as he ever under- "ftood, quite the reverfe.——Then being afked, whe- "ther equity and impartiality of the fupreme court in that "bufinefs, did not ftrike forcibly upon the minds of the "natives, and imprefs them with a ftrong idea of the "wifdom and juftice of the Englifh laws, and a defire "of having them extended for the general benefit? He "informed your committee, that it rather impreffed "them with an unfavourable idea of our juftice and "equity; and that he never heard they, by any means, "wifhed to have them extended. Being afked, if the "natives knew for what purpofe the fupreme court had "been eftablifhed? He faid, he believed at firft they did "not properly underftand it, but that by this time, they "are perfectly acquainted with the nature of its inftitution. "Being afked, if it was not generally given out, that "this court was inftituted for their protection and their "defence, againft the abufes of European authority? He "faid, it was, that he remembered hearing Mr. Le Maiftre, "one of the judges from the bench, exprefs'd his furprife, "that fo many people applied for redrefs to the country "courts, when they might depend upon as good juftice "or better, in the fupreme court of judicature; and that "thefe were his very words. Being afked, if the natives "confidered the proceedings againft Nundcomar, and his "execution, as anfwering the ends of the inftitution of "the court in the protection of the natives? He faid, "he did not believe they did. Being afked, whether they "did not confider the execution, as having a tendency to "encourage them to prefer complaints againft Europeans

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" in authority? He ſaid he believed not. Being aſked, " whether an addreſs to the judges was not ſigned by ſeve- " ral of the natives, commending their conduct in the " office, and particularly dwelling upon the character of " mercy? He ſaid, that he has ſeen an addreſs from the " Armenian merchants, printed, which, he believes was " given to the judges. Being aſked, whether that addreſs " contradicted the ſentiments of the natives, which he " had juſt now mentioned? He ſaid it did. Then being " aſked, whether he looked upon that addreſs, or the con- " verſation he had heard, as moſt truly expreſſive of the " genuine ſenſe of the natives? He ſaid, he believed the " converſation he had heard, to be the moſt expreſſive; " and that the addreſs does by no means expreſs their " ſenſe. Being aſked, if he recollected any inſtance of " mercy, to which that addreſs alluded? He ſaid none, " except the releaſe of the felons, and ſeveral who had " been under ſentence of death in the priſon at Calcutta " for capital offences. Then being asked, if any particular " circumſtances of hardſhip had been repreſented to the " judges? he ſaid, he did not know that there had, be- " fore the arrival of the judges. And being aſked, whe- " ther an opinion had prevailed, that the conſtruction or " execution of criminal law had been ſevere and immo- " derate? he ſaid, he never had heard any ſuch opinion."

Meſſrs. Rous, Farrer, Mills, Price and Rennell, had been examined before, Capt. Cowe, and Mr. Baber was examined after him, not one of the other gentlemen mentioned a ſyllable of policy, or hinted that ſuch an idea had ever been conceived. Capt. Cowe was going on, in the ſame line. When he was aſked by ſome one of the gentlemen of the committee, " What was the opinion of the

" natives

" natives concerning that proceeding, whether they thought
" it political or done in the ordinary courſe of juſtice."

I have read the whole report over and over, to find out if it was poſſible what could give cauſe for ſuch a queſtion, no ſuch had been put to any one of the proceeding five evidence, nor to the one which followed, and candour obliges me to conclude, that, it was not the effect of deſign, but meer matter of accident. The anſwer goes to declare what was very true, that party diviſions, in the ſettlement had begot different opinions, in the inhabitants, but not the leaſt inference can be drawn from Capt. Cowe's evidence, that this ſuppoſed political interpoſition, applied to any particular deſcription of men, either to the judges, the majority of the civil government, or to the minority.

The exclamation Au-Baup-a-ree, and the ſaying the people run into the river on the Rajah's being turned off, conveyes improper notions to the mind of the reader, and in candour they ought to have been explained why the gentlemen of the committee, who underſtand the Hindoo manners and cuſtoms did not do it, I will not truſt myſelf to ſay for fear I ſhould again touch ſore places ; but the fact is as follows : had a calf been knocked on the head they would have done the ſame ; the exclamation cannot be rendered into Engliſh, the idioms of the languages is ſo very different ; but if an Hindoo was to ſee a houſe on fire ; to receive a ſmart ſlap on the face ; break a China baſon ; cut his finger ; ſee two Europeans boxing, or a ſparrow ſhot, he would call out Au-Baup-aree.

When the Rajah was hanged, it was to them a very extraordinary ſight, and it was natural for Hindoos to ſuppoſe, that it in ſome degree defiled them. The remedy was at hand, near to the gallows where the Rajah ſuffered, runs a branch of the river Ganges, the waters of which river, in the ideas of all the Hindoo nations, cleanſe them from every kind of impurity. Had a common pickpocket ſuffered; had a European ſpit by accident on the outer edge of their outer garment; had they touched any dead animal, or fifty thouſand other the moſt trifling cauſes would have induced them to go and purify themſelves in the Ganges. At all hours of day and night, at all ſeaſons of the year thouſands of them are ſeen, men, women and children mingled together, indiſcriminately dabling in the river to purge away the impurities of body, ſoul, and garment, at the ſame inſtant, and by the ſame means.

With ſuch an explanation as this I have given, (and I have with me, the unanimous opinions of all the authors, who have written on, and of every man in this kingdom who knows the leaſt of the manners and cuſtoms of the Hindoos.) How ridiculous does the above diſmal ſtory of Capt. Cowes appear; and how ſhall we account for five or ſix members of the committee, giving up ſuch cock and bull accounts, to terrify our women and children, it can do no more, for ſurely no man of the leaſt intelligence can ſuppoſe the people run into the river from terror and diſmay, not they truly. Hanging a Bramin was a novelty to be ſure, but if five hundred ſuch raſcally Bramins as Maha Rajah Nundcomar had ſuffered the ſame death,

not

not an Hindoo among them would have gone without his dinner on the occaſion.

They are by no means a ſanguinary ſet of people, their religion teaches them, not to take away the life of a fly wantonly, nor will they do it, this in many inſtances, they carry to what we ſhould call a ridiculous extreme. Yet theſe people have laws among them, which would ſhock the moſt hardened Europeans. They impale alive wretches who have twice been detected in robbing in boats on the river: they ſcourge to death for theft, and they mutilate, by cutting of the hand, the ears, or the noſe, for houſe-breaking or robberies on the road. Nothing can be ſo erroneous, or liable to miſlead the judgment ſo much as comparing ſome few particular laws and cuſtoms of one country, with a few of thoſe of another. The Hindoos, would no more change their own code, ſuch as it is, with Engliſhmen, then Engliſhmen would change with them. Their's ſuit beſt with their climate, is interwoven with their religion, and they have been poſſeſſed of it ages before the people of this kingdom knew whether they dwelt on an iſland, or on the continent.

But to return to our ſubject, this ſingle evidence of Capt. Cowe, which grew out of the oddity of the queſtion, without which it never would have entered his head, to have amuſed the committee with ſuch an idle tale, of whimſical political interference; nor do I believe that it was more thought of by any one member of the committee, otherwiſe when the Bengal judicial bill was introduced into the

Houſe of Commons, how came it to paſs without any mention having been made, or even a hint ſtarted that it would be improper to leave in poſſeſſion of the civil and judicial powers at Calcutta, monſters, who had been guilty of ſuch an infamous conſpiracy. All the public evidence that has been yet produced was known then: If there is private information it ought not to be held back from the public eye. If it is held back, and either the judges or Governor-general Haſtings ſuffer in the mind of one ſingle fellow ſubject, male or female, from the inferences held up in the report of the committee. It is a mode of puniſhment, unknown to the laws of the land, and not to be juſtified on any principles but ſuch as are adopted at the inquiſition, and no man can ſay whoſe turn it ſhall come to next, to have his honour arraigned. There is another committee, who deal more candidly, facts are produced and the ſuppoſed culprit is candidly informed that attempts will openly and fairly be made to fix criminality upon him, but that every aſſiſtance will be given him to defend himſelf, and no advantage taken of popular clamour to prejudice his cauſe; had I a brother in ſuch a ſituation, ſharp as the fraternal feelings might pierce my ſoul, I ſhould bow to the ground in reverence to the juſtice of my country. I would ſooth him in his misfortunes as the angel of the Lord did our firſt parent, and comfort him in the ſame words as our immortal poet uſes, in a ſimilar ſituation to that firſt child of human miſery: "Go thy ways in peace, "the world is all before thee, where to ſeek a place of reſt "and providence thy guide."

The ſingularity of the caſe before me, and the uncommon hardſhip the ſuppoſed criminal will ſuffer, if any further

ther ſteps ſhall be taken to urge the vengeance of the houſe againſt them, not only unheard in their own defence, but even uninformed of the charge, induces me to endeavour to draw the attention of the Houſe of Commons, and the public to this extraordinary attempt of the committee.

Between the return of the firſt report, on which the legiſlature had acted, and the introduction of the ſecond, in which the curious inſinuations are preſented for the conſideration of the public. Mr. Philip Francis arrives, who, finding that the Directors of the Eaſt India company treated him as he moſt certainly deſerved, not only for penning his inſolent letter to them at his leaving Bengal, but alſo for his ſending it to be publiſhed in all the daily papers. Full of ſpleen and malice he applies to the committee, ſitting at Weſtminſter, to countenance his abominable falſhoods. Had I been chairman of that committee, moſt certainly I would at leaſt have been neuter in that whole buſineſs. It reſted with him not to engage the paſſions of the awful ſenator, in the paltry politicks of the Eaſt India proprietor. When the devil ſhews his cloven foot, in vain does he attempt to lead us into vice, with the ſyren's ſong or angels face. Let the General harangue to all eternity, not one man will he convince that he is actuated by virtue or from public good in the preſent buſineſs ; whether you Sir, are ſubject to the ſame concluſion I ſhall leave others to determine, but I heſitate not one moment to declare that to this cauſe, and to this cauſe alone we owe the reference back, to the former report, for one ſolitary piece of evidence, (extracted, not given) in juſtification of the opinion implied of there having been more of policy

policy then of juftice in the condemnation and execution of Rajah Nundcomar.

I have faid a great deal in my former letter to you, Sir, on the *crooked politicks*, and unfounded affertions of this genuine knight of the poft, and in fome degree I ftood pledged to diffect his letter, No. 7, of your Appendix. Indeed I have fuch a fertile field before me of inftances of this gentleman's want of candour and difregard of truth, that I am at a lofs from what part of his literary productions to cull my examples.

With your permiffion, and in order to keep in view a former affertion of mine, viz. that he entered and left Bengal in the fame gloomy habit of foul, predicting the fudden and abfolute ruin of that kingdom. I will prefent you with two inftances only from the firft letter of the majority, to the Court of Directors.

" 37th. Paragraph of a letter from the majority at Bengal, to the Court of Directors, dated the 3d of December, 1774, about fix weeks after the arrival of General Clavering, Colonel Monfon, and Mr. Francis, at Calcutta.

" On this everlafting theme of Mr. Haftings, we fhall " only for the prefent obferve in general, that under any " tolerable form of government the effects of the famine " muft long fince have ceafed to be felt in a country where " nature asks nothing of the governing power but not to " ftudy to refift and defeat her operations. The world " will foon fee that it is oppreffion of the moft violent and " pernicious nature, which has reduced this fertile country " to a ftate of depopulation."

I defy

I defy even you, Sir, who I believe to have read every thing that has ever been written on government and politicks, to produce, collected together in so few words, arguments so foreign to experience to human reason and to truth And introduced for no other purpose, than to lead the mind off from a fact, which nobody can deny, to daring assertions which nobody will believe.

The severity of the famine was felt in the summer of the year 1770, it swept away a full fourth of the labouring people of the provinces of Bengal. The letter from which the above paragraph has been taken, was written in the beginning of December 1774, a little more than four years afterwards.——Mr. Hastings's argument led to prove that one cause of the collections falling short, was the vast number of the cultivators of the lands, (from the crops of which the revenues arise) having been swept away by the famine. If it should please God, in order to punish us for our manifold sins to visit this kingdom, with so dreadful a calamity, as in one summer, to carry off one quarter part of the working people of this country, and the revenues fall short in consequence. Would you, Sir, dare to insult the understanding, and play upon the feelings of the house, by assuring them, that the present evils did not arise from the famine, but intirely from the mismanagement of the former admistration?

If, as they affirm, the government of Bengal had a tendency to the depopulation of this country, how as it came about, that the famine and government together hath not yet quite extirpated the people and destroyed the revenues. Mr. Hastings had been but a little more then two years in the government of Bengal, when the majority arrived, supposing him to have been the whole time employed,

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as they would have us to believe in deviſing the means to finiſh what the famine had begun, two years before he came from Madraſs, and laid waſte the whole kingdom. If they eſtabliſh this fact, will it not bare hard on ſeveral others of theirs, which may be found on the company's books, from November 1775, to September 1776? When the evils returned with redoubled violence, by the power reverting into the hands of the Governor General, by the death of Colonel Monſon.

In the ſhort ſpace of time, which elapſed from the ſailing of the laſt ſhips in April, 1775, (when they reſted their cauſe on the ſtrength of the accuſations, (how collected, I have ſhewn) and ſent home, as being quite ſufficient to bring about the recall of Mr. Haſtings) to the death of Colonel Monſon. Their letters to their honourable maſters, the Eaſt India company, and to the miniſtry, took a different turn. They had by their preſence reſtored health, peace and plenty to the country, and liberty to the very few inhabitants they found. "The ſteady power which "had been employed to reſiſt and defeat nature's "operations." They had effectually removed, and people ſprung up together with rice in the fields ſpontaneouſly. Theſe poor young naked natives they clothed, the hungry were fed, and the golden age had returned ſo ſuddenly, that every body was loſt in rapture, and joyous amazement; and all this had been brought about by their having found in themſelves thoſe men, "by whoſe future ſervices, and by "what future exertion of virtue and ability ſuch a ſtate "can be recovered. Common men are not equal to the "occaſion."

Unhappy Bengal, what pity that theſe angelick beings were not of the nature of Swift's ſtruldbuggs, but that on

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one of them dying, every thing ſhould in the inſtant fall back into its former ruin and deſolation. In ſhort, if you believe your friend Mr. Francis, Caos was come again.

I feel very unhappy that I cannot amuſe myſelf in his golden regions, his ſhort lived elyſium, to converſe a little with his beings, of a ſeaſon which ſprung up with his power, and could not be held back from ſinking again into nothing, on the demiſe of Colonel Monſon, it requires a pen like your own, Sir, to furniſh a proper epitaph on the occaſion.

No one circumſtance of the conduct of Mr. Haſtings in his preceding adminiſtration, was left untouched, all was pointedly condemned and execrated, in ſelect and choſen words and phraſes, in this mine Mr. Francis toiled inceſſantly, as I ſhall abundantly ſhew. Major Scot having trod the ground before, has diſpoſed of the treaty of Benarras, Rohello war, King's tribute, and ſeveral other ſubjects, but the mine is inexhauſtable, and would furniſh endleſs materials to prove that the majority never once expected that their repreſentations would be controverted or their aſſertions diſputed, but depended entirely on the prejudices of the nation and the influence of the miniſtry, to bring about the recall of the Governor-general The following paragraphs have been extracted from one of the firſt letters of the majority to the Court of Directors.

" Paragraph 70. The letters received by General Cla-
" vering from ſeveral of the company's military officers

" entruſted

" entrusted with separate commands, will be found deserv-
" ing of notice. They contain accounts of military ex-
" peditions and hostilities carried on against a number of
" Rajahs and Zemindars, without any authority from the
" present government, or any direct communication to us of
" the plan of execution of them. Most of these measures
" appear to have been directed by the provincial chiefs of
" Patna and Burdwan some time after our arrival here.--
" In some places, the Rajahs are reduced to obedience,
" and give hostages.——In many others, the villages are
" burnt, and the corn cut down and destroyed. Ensign
" Scott, having received orders from the Chief of Patna,
" to seize or expel Rajah Tuttah Shaw, pursues him into
" Sujah Dowlah's dominions, and makes three of the
" Vizier's subjects prisoners of war.——Captain Crawford,
" by order of the Chief of Burdwan, entered Patcoom
" on the 5th of last Month with six companies of Sepoys,
" took the capital, levelled the town, and cleared the
" country, in order to make the post tenable. On the
" 9th, he attacks and drives the natives before him,
" after which, *the whole country fled into the mountains.*--
" He says, he is endeavouring to sow dissention among
" their Chiefs, so as to induce them to submit, or enable
" him with ease to rout them out.

Paragraph 71. " We do not pretend to determine at
" present whether measures of this nature be necessary or
" not; but we think it very extraordinary, that military
" expeditions of such importance, and leading to such
" consequences, should be undertaken, not only without
" the

" the orders, but without the knowledge of this board.—
" We are ſorry to be obliged to conclude this article with
" declaring, that, as far as we are able to judge, the
" general principle which ſeems to have animated this
" government, as well with reſpect to the natives of the
" provinces as to the neighbouring ſtates, has had too
" near a relation to the expreſſive words ſo often made uſe
" of *extirpate*, *exterminate*, *rout out*, and *annihilate*.

(Signed)

J. Clavering.

Geo. Monſon.

P. Francis.

What uncandid miſrepreſentations have we here of neceſſary political meaſures, unavoidable in their nature, except we ſit tamely down whilſt a race of lawleſs ſavage Barbarians lay waſte and depopulate our moſt fertile plains.

Though Clavering was violent, and Monſon ſarcaſtic, they were accompliſhed ſoldiers—and, I hope, ſtrangers to the above deteſtable chicanery, though the language and ſentiments ſuit Francis exactly.

Many parts of the provinces of Bengal and Bahar are bounded by thick woods and hills, riſing one above another to a moderate height——ſeveral of the valleys behind the woods, and between the mountains, are inhabited by different tribes of unſocial beings, not many degrees removed from the ſavage life.———Theſe banditti had, under all governments, in all periods of known

time,

time, infefted and laid wafte the fertile cultivated plains of the above-mentioned provinces, now poffeffed by the Eaft India company——Various plans had been formed, and many experiments tried, to reduce thefe people to order, and to cover the farmers in the adjacent plains from their mifchievous devaftations; which continually deftroyed the inhabitants, and impeded the collections of the revenue.———By degrees, a chain of military pofts had been formed on the confines of our territories, which connected with, and fupported one another.———The officers commanding thefe pofts were in general put under the directions of the civil fervants fuperintending the collections in the diftrict on which the poft depended ——others commanded partizan-corps, ftationed in the hills, and acted under the immediate orders of the prefidency.———Many of thefe commands were fo diftant from Calcutta, that it was indifpenfably neceffary for the board to give general inftructions, and confide a great deal in the difcretional conduct of the different collecting refidents, and commanding officers. The powers of the former were not unfimilar to thofe anciently given to the Lords of the Marches in England, to repel by force of arms, the fudden incurfions of a fierce, valiant, northern people——and the latter had fuch kind of orders as our modern commanders receive when intrufted by government with an expedition againft a neighbouring ftate.

All that was intended, was the prefervation of the lives and properties of the company's farmers, or (if you like it better) the king's fubjects.——If this could be

be effected by moderate means and fair treaties with the Rajah's, Zemindars, and other Chiefs of the hill-people (as thoſe motley tribes of independant free-booters are commonly called) it was ſo to be effected--if not--then they were to proceed by force to drive them further from our boundaries, or, if neceſſary, to ſubject them entirely to our government.——Look round the world——ſearch into every page of antient and modern hiſtory, and inform the public, how a new ſovereignty, lately acquired by conqueſt-part of a vaſt continent--and in a ſimilar ſituation with the provinces of Bengal and Bahar——is by other means to be defended and maintained.

But there were orders of the Eaſt India company's which poſitively forbad a further extention of their dominions on that ſide of India: and it was for the purpoſe of the majority, that the neceſſary and unavoidable meaſures which had been taken in order to form a ſtrong barrier for the ſafety of thoſe dominions, ſhould be repreſented in Europe as a breach of thoſe orders, and an avaricious ambition in the late adminiſtration to obtain new provinces for the company by the force of their arms.——With what candour, and on what foundation, orders, iſſued to obtain the very purpoſes intended by the company, have been perverted by the majority, in order to criminate the conduct of the Governor General, has already been ſhewn.

Such were the men the late miniſtry provided to correct abuſes, and give to the government of this deluded kingdom, candid information of the real ſtate of the company's affairs

affairs in Afia, and I am much miftaken if the Lord Advocate, in his late much ftudied harangue, has not let puffey peep a little too plainly out of the bag, by giving the houfe to underftand, what the intentions of the laft minifters were with refpect to India affairs, the fending out of another fhip load or two of locufts, under the denomination of fupervifors, to devour the remaining wine and oil of that country (unhappy) Bengal. I will hope that we have efcaped that great evil, and that no more duplicates of coerfive meafures, or Bofton Port bills are to be fent as padlocks on the Ganges, but that the time is arrived when not only the nation, but even the Eaft India company are emancipated from their fervile and dependant fituation, on a venal court faction.

An honourable Baronet complimented the able advocate on his acquiring fuch extenfive knowledge in Afiatic affairs in fo fhort a time. Had he forgot that the man comes from the Northward and was bread a lawyer. What has he collected but words. I will venture to wager with the honourable Baronet, that if he will but fend him or any other famous man of the profeffion, half a peck of Pagados, they will collect much better words, and more of them in his defence. His lordfhip ftrews a few laurels on the grave of that wonderful man Lord Clive, (on whofe vaft abilities I never think but with admiration) but I remember other orators of the fame profeffion ftraining all their powers to blacken the character, and tarnifh the luftre of that great hero's virtues. Is the nation never to allow a little honeft praife to living worthies. Muft no good man tafte of fame

in the vale of peace, ſhall ſuch an incendiary as I have and ſhall prove Mr. Francis to be, have his works made part of the national records, and in the ſame volume, a ſtain be thrown on the ſpotleſs character of Governor-general Haſtings. If forgetting the injuries done by the dead, and applauding thoſe now forging by the living is the high road to intereſt in this world, and Heaven in the next. I fear, I ſhall ſtay where I am until the curtain drops, and then ſink into the oppoſite place to Heaven. For I feel no ſymptoms of repentance working on my mind, and people advanced in life do not grow leſs obſtinate by living longer.

Now, Sir, for a fair inveſtigation into the merits of Mr. Francis' letter to the Court of Directors; their neglect of which your committee ſeems ſo extremely diſpleaſed with. I grudge ſuch a document the paper it has already waſted, and is about to waſte; but this man muſt be put totally to ſilence, and the labourers which he keeps about Debret's ſhop, diſmiſſed to ſeek their bread by ſome more worthy employment, then alarming the nation with fictitious accounts of things which never exiſted. Abler workmen have taken the matter up in a much more honourable place, or I ſhould never by ſuch grubs as thoſe have been rouſed from my compleat contempt for them and their maſter.

I have, Sir, cauſed the whole letter, as it ſtands in the Appendix, No. 7, to your report, to be copied in ſeperate paragraphs, and under each paragragh you will find my

remarks

remarks and obfervations, this I thought better then being obliged conftantly to refer the reader back to the letter itfelf. No man knows, Sir, better than you do how neceffary perfpicuity is to the fully underftanding what a writer means.

From

FIRST COMMITTEE,

Second Report.

APPENDIX, No. 7.

(COPY.)

Mr. Francis's Letter to the Court of Directors.

' Gentlemen,

' FOR your Convenience, as well as to aſſiſt my own
' Memory, I have thrown together, in the Paper
' which I have now the Honour to deliver you, ſhort Me-
' morandums of the principal Points on which I wiſh and
' propoſe to give you all the Information in my Power.
' Some Things will require Explanation—others may have
' been omitted, which I may recollect hereafter. I am
' ready, and ſhall be ſo at all Times, to anſwer any Queſ-
' tions you may think fit to put to me; and I hope that,
' if any Thing farther ſhould occur to me, which may eſ-

‘ cape my Attention, you will allow me to communicate
‘ it to you in Writing, whether as a Correction of any of
‘ the Contents of this Paper, or in Addition to them.

I have the Honour to be,

East India House, Gentlemen,

19th Nov. 1781. Your most obedient and

humble Servant,

P. Francis.

REMARK.

Knowing the desponding spirit and aptitude at fiction to which Mr. Francis was so excessively prone, I cannot blame the Court of Directors for being content to hold no farther converse or connection with the man.

‘ Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Honourable the
‘ Court of Directors’.

‘ East India House, 19th November, 1781.

Par.1. ‘ When I had the Honour of addressing the Court
‘ of Directors from St. Helena, it was not known to me,
‘ that one of the Subjects on which I proposed to give
‘ them Information would be brought so directly and ex-
‘ plicitly into their View, as I find it has been, by Mr.
‘ Hastings's Letter to them of the 2d of December, 1780—
‘ as he therein expressly tells you,’ “ That they shall be
“ under the Necessity of making a large Reduction and
“ possibly a total Suspension of your Investment for the en-
“ suing Year ; and that he cannot pronounce what their
“ Ability may be, beyond that Period.”— ‘ I have nothing
‘ to

'to offer on that Head, but that I am thoroughly con-'vinced that the Neceffity to which Mr. Haftings alludes 'will continue to operate, if not increafe, in its Force, 'and in all its Effects; and that no Man, who knows any 'Thing of the real Sate of India, can, even by Conjec-'ture, point out a Period at which fuch Neceffity will 'ceafe to be felt. Peace at prefent is not within Sight; 'and, whenever there fhall be a Peace, I can venture to af-'fure you, that the comparative State of your Expences 'and Refources in India, as they will then ftand, will not 'exhibit a Surplus applicable to the Purchafe of an In-'veftment. It is my moft ferious Opinion, that you will 'never again have an Inveftment purchafed with any Sa-'vings from the Revenues of Bengal. I hear you have lately 'authorized the Governor and Council to draw upon you 'for Five hundred thoufand Pounds, to be applied ftrictly 'to this Object:—You know, better than I do, how long 'the Company can fupport fuch a Demand upon their 'Refources in England.—As long as it can be fupported, 'you will confult the welfare of *Bengal* at leaft, in lay-'ing this Burden on the Company. If there be no In-'veftment purchafed in one Year, the landed Revenue of 'the Country will, in a little Time, be found to fail nearly 'in the fame Proportion: One is, in effect, the Supply 'of the other.—Again, as there is properly no Trade in 'Bengal, or next to none, but that which is created by the 'Purchafe of the Company's Inveftment, it follows, that 'in whatever Proportion fuch Inveftment is diminifhed, 'the Manufactures are fo far forth left without Employ-'ment—the Confequence of which muft be, that they will 'either fly the Country, or turn to fome other Occupa-

'tion, and the Manufactures be proportionably debafed, if 'not irrecoverably loft. — Reflections of this Nature, I 'prefume, muft have occurred to you, when you authorized the Governor and Council to draw upon you for fo 'large a Sum. Whether it will be in their power to apply 'the Whole of it in the Manner you expect, I very much 'doubt :—But as a collateral Refource, applicable to the 'fame Object, I fubmit to you to confider, whether the 'following Idea might not be adopted with Advantage, 'under fuch Corrections and Improvements as your own 'Judgement may fuggeft: That all Europeans, and others, 'refident in Bengal, having Money which they wifh to remit to England, fhould be invited to fubfcribe it into the 'Treafury of the Board of Trade, to be applied to the 'Purchafe of Piece Goods, Raw Silk, &c. on Condition 'that their Bills on the Company, at a favourable Rate 'of Exchange, (fuppofe, for Example, 2s. 1d. the Current 'Rupee,) fhall be accepted and paid at a given Period after 'the Arrival of the Ships in England. This Expedient, 'I believe, will produce Twenty-five Lacks a Year, at 'leaft for a Year or Two; and, as far as it went, the Extraction of Specie from England and from Bengal would 'be proportionably and equally faved. I fubmit this merely 'as an Hint to your better Judgment.'

REMARK.

Mr. Haftings had fome doubts that he fhould not be able to continue the full fupport of four different armies, belonging to the Company, then actually in the field, and looking, every man of them, to Bengal for fupport and fubfiftance; and at the fame time continue to fend annually home

home to the Company an inveſtment amounting to eight hundred thouſand or a million of pounds ſterling, as he had done for years paſt; beſides ſupplying money and proviſions to Bombay and Madraſs.—— So circumſtanced, he thought it his duty to adviſe the Company at home of his apprehenſions, that they might not load themſelves with the expence of unneceſſary tonnage, in order to carry home Bengal goods which it might happen he could not ſpare money to provide. —— Was not this juſtifiable and fair? has ſuch a neceſſary piece of advice had any bad effects? and has not his powerful and unwearied invention of finding out reſources enabled him to go on with the inveſtment? and is it not now known, that there is, at Bengal and on its way home, more than a million and a half of Bengal goods, provided to enable the Company to make good the bills which neceſſity has obliged the different Preſidencies to draw on the Company?

In the latter part of this firſt paragraph, Mr. Francis modeſtly offers a hint to the Court of Directors which he would hope to intrude on the world for his own. —— Is it poſſible that this man was unacquainted with all the different ways that this his hint has been given to the Company before, ſo far back as to the years 1762 and 1763? I remember Mr. Gregory, now the Chairman of the Court of Directors, (whoſe honeſt name I would not preſume to join with Mr. Francis, were it not in the cauſe of truth,) often mentioned his apprehenſions, that ſending of ſo much money out of the country as was acquired by individuals, and at the ſame time their ſupplying the foreign Companies for bills, which prevented the farther importation of bullion, would in a few years im-

pede

pede the neceſſary circulation in the provinces, and hurt the revenues, wiſhing ſome means could be deviſed to receive private property for notes on the Company. A few years after, Governor Verelſt ſtated this matter fully and fairly to the Company, with his fears of the conſequences, hinting at the ſame remedy. After that, a merchant of extenſive experience ſtated in the Free Merchants Letters the ſame evil, and propoſed the ſame remedy. —— From this laſt Maſter Francis (being very fond of the man) ſtole the hint as he calls it: but he cannot even ſteal fairly. The author of the Free Merchants Letters propoſes that the Company ſhall receive the current rupee at the exchange of two ſhillings, and grant bills on Europe at very long ſight; and Mr. Francis well knows that all the Europeans in Bengal would very gladly pay in every ſixpence they could get on ſuch terms, with a view that they or their friends ſhould receive it in Europe, with an intereſt of three per cent. even five years after paying of it into the Company's caſh at Bengal. —— Had he offered this exchange I ſhould have ſaid nothing: but his cunning (for it is all he has to ſerve him in place of wiſdom) ſuggeſted that, though he himſelf had taken money out of the treaſury for his wages at two ſhillings the current rupee, yet that he never had paid in any at leſs than two ſhillings and one penny; and he thought that, if he gave in his hint on terms leſs advantageous for others than he had taken for himſelf, ſomebody would take notice of it.—— Thus do the wicked ever dig pits for others, and fall into them themſelves: for I dare him to deny that he ever received money from the Company at more than two ſhillings the current rupee, or took bills on them for leſs than two ſhillings and one penny.

'The

Par. 2. ' The Second Point, on which I meant to offer ' you some Information, was the State of the Administration ' of Justice in Bengal; but, as I find that this Subject has ' been already taken up by the Legislature, and is likely to ' be resumed at the Meeting of Parliament, I shall not en- ' ter further into it in this Place.—One Fact only it is fit ' you should be apprized of, because it directly concerns ' the Company's Interest, and may require some immediate ' Orders from you. It is, that whereas, in many Acts and ' Declarations of the Governor General and Council, and ' more particularly, in their Declaration made to the Su- ' preme Court of Judicature on the 11th of March 1780, ' it was constantly avowed and maintained by them, that ' the Zemindars and other Landholders of Bengal were ' exclusively subject to the Jurisdiction of the Governor ' General and Council—the Chief Justice of the Supreme ' Court was nevertheless appointed, in October, 1780, by ' a Majority of the Board, consisting of the Governor Ge- ' neral and Sir Eyre Coote, against Mr. Wheler and me, to ' be Superintendant or Judge of the Dewannee Adauluts, ' and to decide, in the last Ressort, in all Appeals from ' those Courts;—that the Chief Justice had accepted the ' Office; and, that on the 24th of October, the Governor ' General proposed an Allowance of 5,600 Sicca Rupees a ' Month for the Chief Justice, which at that Time was ' not voted.'

REMARK.

The subject of appointing the Chief-Justice to the superintendance of the Sudder Dewanne Adaulut, with a salary adequate to the fatigue of the Duty, was proposed as a conciliatory measure, and referred home to the Company

for

for their approbation. The reaſons for the turn given to it in the Committee have been explained in this and my former Letter. —— I ſhall only ſubjoin here, that, though Mr. Haſtings has been continued in the government ten years, ſo oddly have things fallen out, that no plan of his has had any time given it to prove by experience its utility. At Bengal they are now acting under the ſanction of the Acts of Parliament of laſt ſeſſion, little dreaming that all is going to be new-modelled. — With ſuch unſteadineſs of government at the ſeat of empire, how can we expect tranquillity and eaſe at the extremes; which, in point of diſtance by ſea, muſt be conſidered, with reſpect to the Mother Country, as antipodical.

Par. 3. ' Theſe Subjects being diſmiſſed, I come to the ' great leading Facts, which conſtitute the actual State of ' India, as far as I am acquainted with it—1ſt. The Domi- ' nions of your Ally, or rather your Vaſſal, the Nabob ' of Oude, are utterly, and I believe irrecoverably, ruined. ' In the Year 1776, the Revenues of that Country, and ' its Dependencies, exceeded Three hundred Lacks of ' Rupees. In April, 1780, they were ſo reduced, that, ' whereas the Company's Demand on the Vizier for that ' Year, as ſtated by Mr. Charles Purling, amounted to ' One hundred and Twenty Lacks, and, as ſtated by me, ' to One hundred and Fifty Lacks, no Aſſignments could ' be had from the Vizier for more than Ninety Lacks, ' and he himſelf was reduced to the abſolute Want of a ' bare Subſiſtence for himſelf and his Family. You will ' find the Particulars recorded in our Conſultation of the ' 3d of April 1780. You cannot but be ſenſible how far ' the Fact of itſelf extends, and to what Conſequences

' it

'it leads. I mention it now for the following Reaſon, 'out of many that are ſtill more important. I find, that 'in the Report of the Committee of Proprietors, dated 'the 19th of December 1780, Credit is taken (under the 'Head of Outſtanding Debts due to the Company) for 'Current Rupees, 25,65,989, due by Aſoph ul Dowlah, 'Nabob of Oude, with as much apparent Confidence and 'Security, as if you had the Money in your Treaſury in 'Leadenhall-Street:—Now I do aſſure you, that this 'Debt, ſo far from being diſcharged, is by this Time 'immoderately increaſed; and that it never can be diſ-'charged out of the Revenues of Oude, which, when I 'left India, were far ſhort of being equal to the indiſ-'penſable Eſtabliſhments of that Government, and which 'were ſtill declining rapidly every Day.—2d. I have good 'Reaſon to believe, that your *Ally*, the Rana of Gohud, 'as I find him entitled in the Governor General's Letter, 'is much diſſatisfied with the Preſence of your Troops, 'and with the Effects it has produced in his Country: 'That Major Popham was ſo apprehenſive of being be-'trayed by him to the Marattas, that he ſeldom or never 'ventured to communicate his Plan of Operations to him, 'and more particularly in the Inſtance of his Enterprize 'on Guawlior: And that no Part of the Subſidy due by 'the Treaty from the Rana, or only a very ſmall Propor-'tion of it, had been diſcharged. The Truth is, he is 'too inconſiderable, that I had hardly ever heard of his 'Name, before the Treaty of Alliance with him, and 'Guarantee of his Dominions, were propoſed by the 'Governor General.—3d. With reſpect to the Rajah of 'Berar, you are already in Poſſeſſion of my Opinion of

'his Views and Diſpoſition towards our Government, and 'of the Intent and Conſequence of his keeping an Army 'ſtationed upon our Frontier in Cuttack. In my Letter 'of the 29th of March laſt, I told you that he had made 'a Demand of Money from us, for the Payment of this 'Army. I muſt now add it as a Fact, which I have ab-'ſolute Reaſon to believe true, though I am not able to 'prove it, that Money, to the Amount of Three or Four 'Lacks of Rupees, was actually ſent to the Commandant 'of that Army, and that a much larger Sum was pro-'miſed by the Governor General, without the Advice, 'Conſent, or Knowledge, of the Council. With reſpect 'to the Detachment under the Command of Lieutenant 'Colonel Pearce, avowedly formed for the Purpoſe of 'marching through Cuttack and the Northern Circars, 'towards the Carnatic, and of co-operating with Sir Eyre 'Coote, I muſt inform you, that ſo long as the above 'Maratta Army remains upon our Frontier, the Detach-'ment cannot move without leaving Bengal open to In-'vaſion; that, while the Marattas keep the ſame or any 'other ſituation upon our Frontier, they neceſſarily engage 'too much of our Force and Attention from other Ob-'jects; which, without an actual Rupture with us, pro-'duces many other Effects of the moſt avowed Hoſtility. 'I do not think the Governor General himſelf will deem 'it prudent to move Colonel Pearce's Detachment South-'wards, until the Danger, which may and ought to be 'apprehended from the uncertain Motions of the Rajah 'of Berar, ſhall be clearly and abſolutely removed: He 'cannot do it, but in Contradiction to *my* Opinion, re-'peatedly given at the Board, and which ought to hold

'good

'good as long as the State of Facts is the same: He never
'can obtain the Consent of Mr. Wheler, who I know is
'immoveably fixed in this Point: And finally, he cannot
'do it even with the Approbation of Sir Eyre Coote,
'who, though very desirous of receiving every possible
'Support from Bengal, did nevertheless freely admit that
'the Measure was not to be thought of, unless we were
'perfectly secure of the Maratta Army in Cuttack. You
'already know, that, in November 1780, the bonded and
'other Debts against your Treasury in Bengal, exceeded
'Eighty Lack of Current Rupees. You may depend
'upon it, that that Burthen will increase as long at least
'as the War continues, and as long as Money can be
'borrowed on any Terms.—4th. In the Report of the
'Committee of Proprietors, I find the bonded Debt of
'Bombay stated at Bombay Rupees, 35,11,955. The
'Fact is, that, on the 30th of April 1780, their bonded
'Debt amounted to Bombay Rupees, 50,89,213. Having
'no Means to pay the Interest of 9 per Cent. on this
'Debt, their Practice is to convert the Interest at the
'End of every Half Year, into Principal. Supposing this
'to be done, as I have no Doubt it has been, the Result
'will be, that, at the End of October 1781, their bonded
'Debt will amount to Bombay Rupees, 58,07,634, ad-
'mitting that the Debt is not otherwise encreased by an
'additional Loan. It is also a Fact, that, by their own
'Estimate, their Expences from April 1780 to April
'1781, would exceed their Resources in the Sum of
'Rupees, 38,34,492, which of course is a Debt on the
'Government, whether bonded or not: The whole Bom-
'bay Debt, therefore, without reckoning any Thing in-

'curred since April last, must now stand at Bombay Ru-
'pees, 96,42,126, and this I believe to be very much
'under the Amount.'

REMARK.

The foregoing paragraph runs up to so many counts, as the lawyers call it, that it will be no easy matter to separate them. The first is in the true style of ruin and despondence with which Mr. Francis has at all times exercised his pen.

To this I shall only observe, that Mr. Francis and his friends were in the government of Bengal when the Visier Soujah Dowlah died; persued what measures they pleased as to the mode of conducting the government of his country; for Mr. Bristow, the confidential friend of the majority, a very worthy and capable young man, was sent up as dry-nurse to the foolish fellow and worse than beast, Ausoph ul Dowlah, the Visier's son and successor. Nothing was or could be done, in that government, but by the orders of the majority, recommended and carried into execution by Mr. Bristow. The Idiot-Nabob's army was reformed, his household settled, his civil-list disbursements arranged, and every single circumstance adjusted, by themselves, under management of their own agent, who continued there until the beginning of 1777; when Mr. Middleton, who had been resident at the old Visier's court before their arrival, was sent by Mr. Hastings to supplant Mr. Bristow, as Mr. Bristow had been sent by the majority to supplant him. —— This gentleman, well versed in all the affairs of the visier's court, continued to act about the same length of time as Mr. Bristow had acted, when Sir Eyre Coote, wishing

wiſhing to have Mr. Purling made the Reſident, another very able ſervant of the Company's, well verſed in the languages and modes of conducting buſineſs in Aſiatic courts, was ſent in the room of Mr. Middleton.

Soon after the time this laſt Gentleman went up, Mr. Francis ſtates the total ruin of the country of Oude, in a ſtyle of depondence peculiarly his own. —— Would it not have been candid in him to have ſaid ſomething of the time this great ruin commenced? or does he mean to infer that Oude, like Bengal, during the management of their agent, Mr. Briſtow, flouriſhed in all the luxury of plenty; but, the inſtant Mr. Middleton returned, all was ruined and deſtroyed? —— I believe the people of this country begin to be a little too well acquainted with his monſtrous ſtories, to believe, on his bare word, that the Viſier's dominions, during his and his friends adminiſtration, produced full three millions of pounds ſterling per annum; but that, in leſs than three years after his party had loſt the power, the Nabob and his family wanted a bare ſubſiſtence. Such an aſſertion is truly worthy one of the diſciples of NUNDCOMAR's academy: but that does not leſſen the inſult offered to the Houſe of Commons and to the nation, for impoſing on them ſuch improbable and abominable falſehoods.

2dly. The Rana of Gohud Mr. Francis never heard of before: that, as luck will have it, may be true; his enquiries led him not that way; if they had, he would have heard of that tributary prince and fifty others who inhabit the continent of India: but a man, that ſhould ſet himſelf up for a perſon who underſtood the politics

of

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of Europe, and at the ſame time own that he never heard of the Prince of Heſſe, the Elector of Hanover, Swiſs Cantons, Republics of Venice, of Florence, and other ſmall States of Italy, would not have much credit given him for his knowledge in the affairs of Europe.

Very numerous are the ſmall States of Aſia, whoſe ſituation obliges them to watch the motions of the great Potentates, and trim over, firſt to one, and then to the other, as intereſt may incline or neceſſity compel. But of this Mr. Francis knows nothing; nor does he ſeem to know, that, ſince the Engliſh have eſtabliſhed themſelves on that peninſula, a kind of balance of power hath imperceptibly formed itſelf, that will, in all human probability, on a general peace taking place, (which we may expect to hear of ſhortly,) be adjuſted in ſuch a manner as to ſecure the tranquillity of that continent for many years to come.

3dly. Whenever Mr. Francis, urging his opinion, depends on his own poſitive aſſertions, he is for ever unluckly. The detachment under Colonel Pearce did move on, and arrived ſafe on the Coaſt. He ſhould be more cautious of committing Mr. Wheler, now he is no longer influenced by his pernicious counſel: that Gentleman is emancipated; and, having had time to think for himſelf, joins the Governor-General in all his plans for a peace; to obtain which honourably, you know, ſir, nations muſt ſhew a power to reſiſt by war.

If Mr. Haſtings did on his own private credit raiſe three or four lacks of rupees, and with ſo ſmall a ſum purchaſe the neutrality of ſo powerful a branch of the Maharatta Empire as the Rajah of Berar, and thereby enable Colonel Pearce

Pearce to paſs unmoleſted through not only his dominions, but alſo through the dominions of the Soubah of the Decan, and join Sir Eyre Coote on the Coaſt with ſuch a noble reinforcement,——what words are ſtrong enough in which to ſpeak the praiſe due to ſuch a noble effort of diſintereſted patriotiſm! A Prince nearly connected, by every tie natural and religious, to the firſt Maharatta Power againſt whom we were in arms, and himſelf able to bring forty thouſand horſe into the field, has been bought off, by Mr. Francis's Account, for thirty or forty thouſand pounds.—Cheap doings, theſe; I wiſh ſome of our European politicians could do ſuch jobs ſo reaſonably.

Par. 4. '5th. I cannot ſpeak particularly of the bonded 'Debt at Fort Saint George; but I have heard, from good 'Authority, that it amounted to the utmoſt they could 'borrow. One Fact, however, is neceſſary to be brought 'into your immediate Obſervation; that whereas the 'Committee of Proprietors have taken Credit in their 'Report for out-ſtanding Debts and Property at Fort 'Saint George, convertable into Caſh, to the Amount 'of £1,380,083: That whole Credit, or by far the 'greateſt Part of it, is ideal. Their Expences are eſti'mated by Sir Eyre Coote at above Seven Lacks of Ru'pees a Month, which, he declares, "muſt *all* come from "Bengal, as there were no Reſources in the Carnatic "from which a ſingle Pagoda was to be expected."

REMARK.

The ſtatement of the Debts, due on bond at the different ſettlements, I ſhall admit to be accurate, though brought forward by Mr. Francis; and ſhall only obſerve,

that

that the aggregate ſum does not amount to what the Bengal bonded debt alone amounted to when Mr. Haſtings came to the Government of that Country.

The annual revenues of Bengal alone amount to more than double the ſum; and, if we add that part of the Revenue of Oude which muſt, and always will, be applied to the payment of our army on the peace eſtabliſhment, this bugbear of Mr. Francis will diſappear inſenſibly in a year or two after the preſent troubles ſubſide.—— The Company's bonds, like our national funds, riſe or fall in their value on a nearer or more diſtant proſpect of a peace. I have known them formerly often above Par in the market; nor is it ever but with reluctance that the Bond-holders at Bengal bring them in for payment; and the Government may always reduce the intereſt to five per cent. which is not equivalent to more than two per cent. in Europe.

Par. 5. '6th. In Bengal, I am firſt to obſerve to you, that 'all the Eſtabliſhments in the Civil Departments have 'been immoderately increaſed ſince Sir John Clavering's 'Death; but theſe, however great in themſelves, are not 'to be mentioned in Compariſon with the Exceſs to 'which the Military Charges have been carried in the 'ſame Period. In the 28th Article of the Inſtructions 'which General Clavering, Colonel Monſon, and I, car-'ried out with us, in the Year 1774, the Company ſay, "Our Military Expences at Bengal having increaſed to "a Degree which is become *inſupportable* to us; we, in "an eſpecial Manner, enjoin you to make ſtrict Enquiry "into the Cauſes of ſuch Increaſe, &c." At that Time, 'the Military Charge, which the Company called *inſup-*

' *portable,*

'*portable*, as in Truth it was, did not exceed Eighty 'Lacks of Current Rupees per Annum; the Eſtimate of 'the ſame Eſtabliſhment, for the Year ending in April 'laſt, amounted to Two hundred and Fourteen Lacks 'and an Half; and this Charge, I conclude, has in-'creaſed in the current Year; I am ſure it cannot have 'been diminiſhed. I am unwilling to ſay any thing of 'the actual State of the Army, in regard to its effective 'Strength, compared with the Eſtabliſhment, its Diſci-'pline, or the Punctuality with which the Native Troops 'are paid, becauſe it would be going out of my own 'Department, and partly becauſe I cannot give you 'Lights on this Subject, from my own direct Knowledge 'of it: Thus far, however, I think it my Duty to ſay, 'that from my own Obſervation, and from all the Infor-'mation I have been able to collect, I have too much 'Reaſon to believe, that your Army actually wants a 'ſtrict Inſpection into its Diſcipline, and a vigorous 'Command over it; and that this is true in a Degree 'much beyond what you will be inclined to believe, or 'what I could make good. The Thing in its Nature is 'not capable of Proof in England; your Judgement there-'fore muſt be guided and determined by your Opinion of 'the Veracity and Honour of thoſe whom you conſult.'

REMARK.

Mr. Francis would certainly have done wiſely in ſaying nothing about the army, even on his own principles, his extreme ignorance on the ſubject: but there are other more weighty reaſons, which having ſlipped his memory, I ſhall take the liberty to recal them to it.

At what period did this want of order and discipline commence? did it exist when General Clavering arrived in the country? if so, how came it to pass that that Gentleman during his life never saw the Bengal Army? His military pride would not suffer him to let Colonel Monson have the command of it until he himself should get into the Government. Was it of more consequence to the State and to the Company, that he should spend his time at Calcutta, endeavouring, by means shocking to think on, to drive Mr. Hastings out of the Government? When have the Bengal Army refused to do their duty? Are not their warlike exploits and military prowess the theme of every man in Europe and in Asia? Has there been a time when they slunk back from the charge, or rather did not court the occasion to be led up to the noses of thirty times their numbers, arranged in military array, hostile to the English banner? Where were the feelings of the *would-be-patriot* General, when he suffered such a Thing as Mr. Francis to cast such a reflection on the Bengal Army? Is this his mode of paying his court to a set of as brave officers as the world ever saw? — But they have done with Mr. Francis, and I trust will no more be in the way to be insulted by the General's insolence of manners: being secured from that is all they have to ask; their real contempt for such associates will do the rest.

General Sir Eyre Coote was the immediate successor appointed by the King and the Company to command the Asiatic Troops in general, and the Bengal Army in particular. Has that gallant Officer made any complaint of the want of spirit, order, or discipline, which he found in the Company's Troops? Has he not, with a mere handful

of

of them, chastised the Cesar of the East, or rather parliamentary bugbear, Hyder Ally? But it is not in the nature of a certain order of men to forgive a political sin. Sir Eyre voted against Mr. Francis in council, and that is a crime of such a dye as no length of time will wash out. I hope the Bengal officers, now in England, will signify their thanks to this clerk of the war-office for his opinion of them.

'7th. In the Report of the Committee of Proprietors, 'I am sorry to observe, among several other exceptionable 'Articles, that Credit is taken for Outstanding Debts, 'due to the Company in Bengal, to the Amount of 'Current Rupees 77,22,548, and that this Sum makes 'Part of the final Balance of Pounds Sterling, supposed 'to be in Favour of the Company, just as much as the 'Money in your Treasury, or the Value of the Goods in 'your Warehouses, in London. I beg Leave to assure 'you, that these Debts, or the greatest Part of them, have 'stood for Years on the Company's Books, and are be'lieved in Bengal to be desperate. I declare to you I 'never heard of a Debt of any Consequence being re'covered by the Company in India. If *these* Debts were 'of a recoverable Nature, it is to be presumed that a con'siderable, or at least some, Part of them, would have been 'recovered at a Time when the Governor-General and 'Council were trying every possible Expedient to borrow 'Money at an high Interest: But the Fact, on the con'trary, from a Comparison of the Accounts in my Pos'session, stands thus:

 '25th

' 25th September 1779, Total Debts ' due to the Company, — —	108,21,543
' 31st October 1780, Ditto, — —	110,74,218
' Increase of Debts due to the Company in those Thirteen Months,	2,52,675

REMARK.

Of the outstanding debts, on the desperate situation of which Mr. Francis expresses himself so feelingly, it is no less curious to observe his ignorance than to remark his malice. Outstanding debts, he says himself, are very seldom recovered in India, and gives an instance to prove that they increase yearly. Is it possible that this man can be ignorant, that, in the complicated character in which the Company stand of Lord Paramount, Farmers General, Collectors of the Revenue, Import and Export Merchants, and Military Store-keepers General, all which accounts pass their mercantile books, and must be productive of bad debts: is there any thing new in this? are they not obliged every year to write out to their servants at their several settlements, to write off to profit and loss such and such desperate debts? Had he been the least conversant in the Company's mercantile affairs, he could not have been ignorant of this fact; and that the servants abroad never do proceed to strike any head off their books without express orders from home. And, since they have been so deeply concerned in the politics of Asia, many millions have sunk that way, and more must be sunk every year; but the observation served to catch the eye of ignorance, and to give alarm, and that was all Mr. Francis meant;

meant: candid disquisition, or honest explanation he has always been a stranger to.

'8th. Thus far, without descending to minuter Ob-
'jects, I have confined myself to what I believe to be
'strictly the Facts, in stating to you the general Situation
'of your Affairs: My Opinion on some of them shall be
'laid before you, with the same Freedom and Sincerity.

'I find, with Concern, that a Habit begins to prevail
'in this Country, of sending out new Corps of Europeans
'for the Service in India. In my Judgement, and in
'that of all the Officers of Experience with whom I have
'conversed in Bengal, you would find it a much less ex-
'pensive and a much more effectual Method of providing
'for that Branch of your Service, if you sent out Re-
'cruits sufficient to complete the European Regiments at
'the several Presidencies. The dividing those Regiments
'into Two Battalions each, when the Companies could
'not shew above Twenty-three Rank and File, was a most
'ill-advised Measure, and produced many bad Effects,
'besides a very great Increase of Expence. When I left
'India, they wanted more than Half their Complement.
'Your Army in Bengal, if the Establishment be kept
'complete, is sufficiently numerous; it does not want
'Field Officers, at least not many; nor Captains, nor
'Subalterns; in these Ranks, I believe your Army is as
'well supplied as any Service in that Country can re-
'quire: But it does want Two or Three General Of-
'ficers, Men of Activity, of Experience, and of esta-
'blished Reputations; if possible, they should be in the
'Prime of Life, and as high in Point of personal Rank

'as

'as can be found; under *their* Inſpections, your Eſta-
'bliſhments will be kept complete, and your Troops in
'general acquire as much Diſcipline and Vigour as an
'Indian Army is capable of, or as the Nature of that
'Service is likely to demand.'

REMARK.

Here we have him again in the field, confeſſedly out of his element. Have the officers trained up in the Company's ſervice ſhewn any want of ability, when they had, by riſing gradually, come to the command of the army? Will he be content to abide by the event of every experiment which has yet been tried, and contraſt General Clavering, General Monro, General Stuard, Colonel Leſley, Colonel Edgerton, with Lord Clive, General Joe Smith, General Caillaud, General Sir Robert Fletcher, General Sir Robert Barker, and General Thomas Goddard? I drop the General of the Committee, for fear of hurting his modeſty, not well knowing in which liſt he would like beſt to be placed.

I am neither civilian nor ſoldier in the Company's ſervice; but am extremely hurt at obſerving the temper with which the Gentlemen, who fall under thoſe deſcriptions of Company's Servants, bear to be ſo groſsly inſulted, in the face of the Nation, by ſuch a botch, ſuch a carbuncle, on the vitals of Truth, as this quondam clerk of an office, whoſe ſoul has been ſhrivelled up like a winter's pippin, and compreſſed, by the dirty employ of ſtopping ſixpences, into the magnitude of a minikin pin's head.

'9th.

'9th. With respect to your Connections or Diffe-
'rences with the Country Powers, I have already told you
'in what Estimation the English Name and Authority are
'universally held by those Powers. The Re-establishment
'of Peace in India, which in Effect is no more than re-
'verting to your own original Principles, is now become
'indispensably necessary, not only to your Prosperity or to
'your Safety, but I say to your Existence. If the present
'Wars are to be continued, you can no more support the
'Consequences of Success than of Defeat: No Victory in
'India will ever again pay the Expence of the Army that
'gains it. I need not tell you, what effect another Defeat
'might produce. The Disaster which befel Colonel Bailie's
'Detachment, was felt in the most distant Parts of our
'Provinces: Another Event of the same Nature would, as
'I apprehend, go near to drive all the Sepoys out of your
'Service.—Before the late unfortunate Transactions on
'the Two Coasts, the Reputation of your Arms had sup-
'ported your Credit and Influence throughout India. But
'that Reputation has been wantonly hazarded and severe-
'ly wounded; and your Credit and Influence have accor-
'dingly sunk along with it. Peace then, at all Events,
'must be your Object. On this Point I can give you
'other Explanations, if they are desired; if not, I shall
'content myself with saying, that the Indian Powers have
'lost all Confidence in the Good Faith and Steadiness of
'the Government of Bengal.'

REMARK.

We know, Mr. Francis, that you have, over and over again, told the Company and the Kingdom at large many most daring and fallacious stories of the estimation in which the

the Engliſh name is held by the different powers of Aſia,—and I wonder that, as you muſt have taken your account from ſome intereſted Agent, it has not happened in one ſingle inſtance that the man's own intereſt ſhould operate ſo as to inſtruct you in a little truth.

The diſaſter which befel the little gallant body of men under the command of that excellent Officer, Colonel Bailie, was brought about by the (what ſhall I ſay) great Generalſhip of one of thoſe kind of Officers of which you want to add a few more to the Company's troops—The defeat of the Bombay army happened whilſt another of thoſe heroes commanded it —— but perhaps more immediately by that abſurd policy which put the Civilian's coat ſo improperly on the military ſhoulders of General Clavering, and ſunk poor Carnac from an excellent Officer into a field Committee-man. When you ſay that the country powers have loſt all confidence in the good faith of the Government of Bengal, you ſhould in juſtice have told us, that ſuch want of confidence was never known before you and your colleagues arrived at Bengal, and that we removed it as ſoon as it was known that you had left it.—I inſtance that you have been ſo unlucky as to riſque your whole credit upon the marching of Colonel Pearce's detachment through the dominions of the Rajah of Berar, of whoſe hoſtile intentions towards the Engliſh you have told ſuch diſmal ſtories; through the Soubah of the Decan's dominions, and the territories of his brother, with half a dozen other independent Rajahs and Zemindars, all of whom furniſhed him and his army on their march with every thing their country produced: which circumſtance gives

gives the direct denial to your gloomy predictions of the inimical disposition of the country powers to the English —And the repeated successes of our arms, under Coote, Carnac, Goddard, Popham, and several others, are such examples of the recovery of the credit of our military character in Asia, that I wonder the news of it has not induced you to go hang yourself.—This preservation of you, I suppose, we owe to the fostering care of the General of the Committee; who, rather than not try the experiment of revenging himself on those whom he deemed his enemies, would embark his small stock of credit in partnership with such an adventurer as Mr. Francis.

Par. 9. ' You cannot but be thoroughly possessed of my ' Opinion of the Injustice and Imprudence of all our Pro- ' ceedings with respect to the Marrattas: On this Subject ' you *now* have all the Evidence before you, that Argument ' *and* Reason, confirmed by the most ruinous Experience, are ' capable of furnishing. In attempting to support the Pre- ' tensions of Ragoba, and the Views of the Presidency of ' Bombay, you found the *unanimous* Opinion of the Go- ' vernor General and Council, that is, of Men who sel- ' dom agreed in other Points, decidedly against the Mea- ' sure. This was true at least in the Year 1775, though ' a different System has since prevailed in Bengal. I shall ' say nothing of the Conduct of Mr. Hastings's Negotia- ' tion with Moodajee Boosla. You see to what a State ' they have reduced us, and in what Conclusion they ' have ended. In my Judgment, the Principle, on ' which that Scheme was professedly founded, stood in ' Opposition to the obvious dictates of sound Policy and ' common Sense. After the Death of Madharow in 1772,

'the Union of that great Body, which constituted the 'Maratta Empire, was dissolved. The principal Chiefs 'set up for themselves, and no longer acknowledged any 'one common Superior; or, if they acknowledged the Su-'periority of the Infant Peshwa, it was purely a Matter of 'Form. In this State, they naturally endeavoured to se-'cure their respective Independence, by courting the 'Friendship, or at least by avoiding the Enmity, of the 'English Power. In what Sense could it possibly be our 'interest to restore the Union of an Empire so dissolved, 'supposing the Attempt practicable, or to vest its united 'Strength in the Hands of a single Person? In the Year '1778, they were so divided among themselves, that no-'thing but our invading their Country, with the avowed 'Design of overturning their Government, could have 'made them act together. — Such was the Plan of Mr. 'Hastings's proposed Alliance with the Rajah of Berar, as 'it stands exhibited in his Instructions to the late Mr. 'Elliot, in July 1778, and in many other recorded Docu-'ments. The same Plan included another Object, not 'less unwise in Point of Policy, and still more dangerous 'in the Execution than the first: I mean the Project of 'uniting with Moodajee Boosla, to invade the Dominions 'of Nizam Ally Khan, and to deprive him of a considerable 'Part of his Possessions. From this Project, which could 'not be long a Secret to the Nizam, the subsequent Union, 'which appears to have been concerted by him, between 'Hyder Ally, the Marrattas, Moodajee Booslah, and him-'self, took its Origin. The Invasion and Ruin of the 'Carnatic sprung from the same Source; and, in Conclu-'sion, the Rajah of Berar, for whose Advancement the Plan

'is

‘ is professedly formed, joins in the Confederacy against ‘ us, and in Effect (though not yet avowedly when I left ‘ India) becomes one of the most dangerous Enemies we ‘ have to contend with. If this Confederacy should not ‘ be strong enough to maintain itself, and to accomplish ‘ the Designs of the Contracting Parties, whatever they ‘ may be, their last Resource will unquestionably be, to ‘ call in the French to their Assistance.—I will not tres-‘ pass, Gentlemen, any longer on your Patience.—If Ob-‘ jections are made to any thing advanced in this Paper, I ‘ believe I can answer them. If Explanations are wanted, ‘ I am ready to give them.—In entering so far as I have ‘ done into such a Detail, it is not my Purpose to criminate ‘ any Man, nor even to condemn Measures, merely for the ‘ Sake of condemning them.—Your Governments in ‘ India are actually involved in a Labyrinth of Difficulties. ‘ I therefore think it my Duty to trace to you the principal ‘ Steps by which you have been, imperceptibly to your-‘ selves, misled into this Labyrinth; because I believe it to ‘ be the surest, if not the only Method you can take, to ‘ find you Way out of it.

P. Francis.’

REMARK.

I come now to the last paragraph of this famous letter, and I do assure you, Right Honourable Sir, that I am very glad of it; for, to labour through such a collection of dismal prophecies, unsupported assertions, and positive falshoods, without one ray of truth on which to rest the mind for a moment on the way, is, as you will know, no easy task.—The hodge podge complexion of this take-leave

paragraph is ſo perplexed, from containing the eſſence of all the foregoing ones, that I ſhall limit my remarks on it to a ſingle obſervation, or at moſt two.

In this part of his letter, Mr. Francis in ſome degree acquits Mr. Haſtings of being the original cauſe of the Maharatta war. His reaſons are obvious enough;—becauſe, another Committee from your Houſe having the matter before them, it was more his immediate intereſt to ſpeak truth than otherwiſe. But what will he ſay to his Agent Mac Intoſh, whom he diſpatched home the ſeaſon before he came himſelf with frightful accounts of the Maharratta wars, Rohillo wars, and cargoes of other falſehoods againſt the Governor General, all which was iſſued out of his mint in Piccadilly. If he does not getſomething done to ſtop the mouth of that ſable, predatory hiſtorian, he will moſt aſſuredly turn his black gooſe quill againſt his maſter; for he is one of thoſe Swiſs-like penmen, who will undertake any cauſe; and if I had any uſe for pamplet-manufactures, I would certainly buy him over with the other half-crown.

Mr. Francis declares that he does not wiſh to criminate any man; all he means is, that, as the Company's Affairs have been ſo twiſted and twirled, interwoven and knotted together, in which unlucky ſituation he both found them, on his arrival in India, and left them when he came away, he cannot help offering his ſervice to the Company and to Parliament, to endeavour to ſet them to rights again. Whether the experience the Company have already had of his ſervices will induce them to truſt their Affairs again in his hand, I do not know; or whether you, Sir, and his Majeſty's new Miniſters, have in contemplation to cram him,

him, with others of his tribe, down the throats of the Company, as your predeceffors in office did, you can beft tell; but I know, that, if the prefent Proprietors of ftock, and Directors of the Company, fubmit to fwallow fuch a minifterial potion, I much queftion whether their conftitution is now fufficiently ftrong to get the better of the poifonous effects of it; — becaufe I fuppofe no man will expect their great Phyfician, Governor General Haftings, will prefcribe for another feven years together the neceffary antidotes to counteract its pernicious confequences.

I fuppofe, Sir, by your exhibiting of Mr. Francis's productions in the Report of the Committee, that you thought that you had an intelligent, a candid, and an honeft, man, to deal with, and that you thereby was about to do a public benefit to fociety: I hope the clear and fair account which I have given you, attended by proofs in almoft every Page, of his real conduct and character during his ftay in India and fince his arrival in England, will have weight enough with you to fufpend your final judgment until he has fairly and honeftly refuted the affertions and facts in this and my former letter.

I return with no fmall degree of reluctance to the part you have yourfelf taken in the compilation of the Report. That you had compiled it from the minutes of the Committee was one of the points in my former letter which I did not prefs fo clofely as I fhould have done had I then had fo good authority for fo doing as I have now. Your Chairman, Sir, has paid you fome handfome compliments on the elegance of the performance, and the information

you

you helped him to; and you, in your turn, rubbed down your honourable Chairman on his great induftry and abilities.——This, Sir, with great patriots, is very well; and hungry coffee-houfe politicians fwallow down the condefcending complaifance of the two great men, and approve, in fenators, what, amongft honeft tradefmen, fuch as themfelves, they would call the moft fulfome flattery. —— I, Sir, have read both your Reports, over and over again, with an eye to the difcovery of truth, however it might be enveloped by eloquence; and I am bold again to declare, in the face of the whole kingdom, that, when you penned the reflections and infinuations quoted in my former Letter, from page 49 of your laft Report, you had not truth for your landmark. Captain Cowe is the only one perfon, in feven very intelligent and very honourable witneffes, who fpeaks the leaft word about its being the opinion of fome people that the execution of the Rajah NUNDCOMAR was a political meafure; nor would his faying fo have been admitted as evidence in any other place. The words, Sir, were not his own: they had been put into his mouth by the perfon who examined him; yet, dreadful to think of, this *no Evidence* has induced you to throw out the moft fevere and cruel afperfions on the characters of his Majefty's Judges and the Governor-General of Bengal. If afferting what I feel to be truth fhall be conftrued into Scandalum magnatum, call me and try me on the merits: I fhall be nothing backward to appear.

I am, Right Honourable Sir,
With all due Refpect,
Your moft obedient Servant,

Borough, Apr. 18, 1782.

The AUTHOR.

POSTSCRIPT.

POSTSCRIPT.

What a world is this we live in: I can boaſt ſome friends, and to thoſe friends I muſt ſeriouſly appeal, to know, if they think that I have an enemy in the world, who has been made ſo, by any other means than a ſtrong habit of ſpeaking and writing truths, which wound the ear of ſome notorious culprit or public peculator; yet theſe friends write me, in terms rather too harſh for friendſhip, that, by meddling at all in this buſineſs, I have hurt the political intereſts of Governor Haſtings. I never once thought of the Governor: I honour the private virtues of the man; and obſerving, that ſcandal had made its way into the Senate Houſe, where his moral character lay ſtretched on the rack, ready to be offered up, to glut the revenge of men, who hate him for his virtues and his abilities, it broke in upon my reſt, and I ruſhed forward, (perhaps with too little ceremony) to ward the blow, or break its violence; for which, if I am deſerted by thoſe I eſteem.—I ſay with Pope,

Welcome for thee, fair Virtue, all the paſt:
For thee, fair Virtue, welcome even the laſt.

THE END.